1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

Tanggalevu is *tauvu* on account of Ulupoko either to Vuna or Vuya. 602
The Vuna people do not mention Tumbou among their *tauvu*. 621

Tuware has no *tauvu* because Tui Vutu was a god (*kalou*) that originated in Lakemba. 776

The *tauvu* of the clan of Mbaumbunia is the island of Lauthala, by reason of the god Rereakalou. Another *tauvu* is Vatoa: the ancestor god of Yandrana went to Vatoa.

Lomaloma, esperially the clan of Nambutha, is *tauvu* of Yandrana.

ELVES

Whereas the true spirits (*tevoro*) are never spirits (*kalou*) belonging 776
to the individuals, Tui Tumbou thinks the Children of Water, or elves, might 794
be considered to be so. He has taken part in the rites of old when they were known as fearful spirits (? *kalou rere*), and gives the following account:

It is from Ndengei (the snake god that lives in Nakauvandra) that the Children of Water originate. He gave breadfruit, Tahitian chestnuts, *ndawa*. It is said he made the world (*puli vuravura*). His sons are Children of Water: Mautu, Nathirikaumoli, Nakausambari, and many others, the children or subjects of Ndengei. His cock was his awakener; Turukawa was the name of the cock. Rokola, the god (*vu*) of the Carpenters (*mataisau*), went and shot it dead with an arrow. Ndengei did not hear the cock in the morning and was angry. He caused rain to fall, and a flood rushed down from Nakauvandra, and the Carpenters floated away, Rokola floated away. Rokola said, "You always remember Rokola." Such were his dying words (*tatau ni mate*). Some landed in Naitasiri; some got to Rewa and stayed there, and still dwell in Nandorokavu. They brought down soil from Nakauvandra, Nathirikaumoli and Nakausambaru are said to have gone to White Man's Land; that's why there is skill there; but now they are not to be found because they are on their way back to Fiji.

The Fearful Spirits [those who practised the rites] went to the bush and were taught by the Fearful Spirits for four weeks or more. They caused the Fearful Spirits to enter them; the Fearful Spirit that entered a man was called his friend (*i tau*). The leader or teacher was called Vuninduvu. When they were proficient he would throw a spear at a man; the man would call out: "The rampart! the rampart!" (*a mba*) and beat his chest; then the Vuninduvu struck him and the spear glanced off. If a true spirit is in a man it flies before the spear, and the spear penetrates the man, because the spirit is afraid. It is otherwise with the Fearful Spirits (*kalou rere*).

When they were proficient they went to hold a festival (*solevu*) on the Green in honor of the Fearful Spirits. Men were speared there and so people saw and believed. There are various tribes (*yavusa*) of Fearful Spirits, for they have clans. The Faces of the Wood (*mata ni kau*) are one tribe; they are speared with a spear. Another family called Coconut cutters (*Tava vono*) broke coconuts in two on their shins. The Coconut-eyes (*mataniniu*) set up a coconut, and sat down and sang:

Ko Mataniniu, ia vana niu,	Coconut-eyes, shoot coconuts,
Vana ko sunggasungga tale mai.	Shoot and draw back.

As they sang they took aim, leant back, sat up again, and repeated the song and the motions several times; then they shot the coconut right in the eye and the milk gushed forth. Then they clapped hands and sang:

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776 794 Ka turua a wai ni sosou. The milk of the coconut drips.
Ka tangi a kena nggolou. And the shout resounds.

Some men were called Women. Tui Tumbou was a Woman at the first festival he took part in. They cook food and use bananas as covering for the food, which proves the truth of the whole thing since bananas [banana leaves ?] are combustible. They feed the people and the Fearful Gods sing:

A kuro ka toka me sa laki mbuta, The pot that is on the fire will be cooked,
Mbuta tu a marama ni vula, The lady of the moon cooks it,
Me takia vei ira a kai Vuya. To serve up to the people of Vuya.

Vuya is a place in Vanua Levu, and the Vuyans are probably the Fearful Spirits. The tribe called Veli closes the performance. The Veli belongs to the young men. As they come on to the Green they sing:

A yavusa Veli ka sa there vuka, The Veli tribe flies up,
Songo lala tu a vu ni ndakua. The *kouri* tree is empty and closed.

The *kouri* tree is the habitation of the Children of Water. As they enter the Green, the *vuninduvu* spears them with a bamboo in the back and chest. At the second festival he attended Tui Tumbou was a youth, but his "friend" would not enter him.

The only use of the Fearful Spirits formerly was for festivals, for pleasure; they did not reveal medicines; that is a new thing. The leader learned dances in his sleep and that is still done.

776 Nambateteva is said to be famous in all Fiji and Tonga, and Mbauans used to come and see it; it is famous for spirits and Children of Water; the spirits are Nathirikaumoli and Nakausambarei.

The Children of Water do not live inland but on the shore; they are worshipped only on shores where there is a nice beach. They appear as small men, and do not enter animals. It is said they and the spirits proper are enemies.

776 794 Vola attended the Children of Water in Nukuleka; but did not see the beginning; all the young men knew the Children of Water except Vola, and they feared he might inform against them, so they enticed him to join. They were all young men. He says:

I took some kava and offered it up to the expert (*ndau*) that is the *vuninduvu*, a man of Ndravo, near Mbau, Sailasa by name. In offering it up I used the polite *saka* and presented it like a kava for a chief (*vakaturanga*): "Let the chief be gracious, He of the Sea; let him be favorable and grant a youth to be my friend," and so on, a long speech. "He of the Sea" is Ndakuwangga, a great shark in Thakaundrove, a god (*kalou*) famous in Fiji. The *vuninduvu* touched the kava and prayed over it, ending, "And may you get a friend." Then one who is experienced offers up the kava; he turns towards the leader and utters the names of all the *tevoro*. Then they go and prepare the kava in Fijian chiefly style.

Everyone drinks; no one is omitted. Then they begin the Children of Water. The leader chooses one man to do it; then another, then another. One called Farseeing (Raiyawa) begins: he sees if anyone is coming to arrest him, and whether the Children of Water are in the Green, that is, the space where they perform. Then another man starts, then another. Then the leader orders them to do it *en masse*. They do so and shake, and each announces himself, "I am from Kandavu [or from Tonga, or wherever it may be], I am strong." Some prophesied, but it did not come true.

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The leader looked after them: if a new man could not do it, the leader would 776
go and sit beside him and say, "Lively, lively" (*mbula*), to make it embark, that is, to 794
make the spirit enter. Sometimes he fails; at some future time he will be able to make it embark.

I frequented the performances for three months; they did it three or four times a week; and I never saw any more than that: there is plenty of talk but the performance is small. They did not tell the history of the Children of Water, but only that they and the spirits (ghosts) are enemies.

Divination

Divination was practised with a coconut; a method called *vakawiri man-* 797
jingi (*vakawiri*, to twirl; *manjinji*, a term for a coconut used in this manner). In Yandrana this method was used in consulting Tutumatua. If the people wanted to know whether they would have a fair wind to the Southern Islands, they would take a mature coconut with the husk on and holding it say, "I am touching the coconut: if it is your wish that we may go tomorrow let the coconut arise [?] and face me." Then a man twirls the coconut: if it faces him it is said to face right; if it does not it faces wrong. If it faces right it is twirled again without the prayer being repeated; it must face right twice or they cannot sail. If the nut faced right they kissed it. The same method was also used in sickness. Every one knew how to do it, and I have seen boys use it to find out who is a bad man.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

against *luveniwai* and could have kept the naughty boys in order with what had been provided previously. Anyway we failed to stamp it out . . . I think there is not much harm in it so long as the votaries refrain from picking and stealing, and are duly respectful to their elders, and there is certainly a fair element of romance and poetry about it."[50]

Mr. Brewster endorsed the introduction of cricket into his district in the hope that the game would give the boys an outlet for their superfluous energy. Cricket clubs were organized and the game became very popular. It was soon found, however, that cricket was being used as a cloak for cult activities. In one district the organization aimed to free the natives from British rule. In imitation of the system of colonial administration in Fiji they had elected a governor, chief justice, and chief secretary. The native cult, altered by the introduction of cricket and organized in imitation of the colonial government, was being used for political purposes. The movement was effectively suppressed when the new cult leaders were sent to jail.

Many other natives besides those of the "Water Baby" cult make the adjustment to modern life by turning to a greater or less extent to their ancestral gods. An example of this is the rise of the *Tuka* or "Immortality" secret society. About 1873 (forty years after the introduction of Christianity into Fiji) a secret cult sprang up in the foothills of the Nakauvandra mountains in northeast Viti Levu. This is the traditional home of Ndengei, the great snake god and the mythical deity of Fiji. The leader of the "Immortality" cult was a young man named Ndukumoi (pronounced En-du-ku-moí) of a hereditary priest clan. He was not striking in appearance—a Negroid type of medium height and bleary-eyed from excessive kava drinking.[51] Ndukumoi left his home and went to Taveuni, an island off the east coast of Vanua Levu, where

[50] *Ibid.*, pp. 230-231.
[51] "The *Tuka* Religion," *Transactions of the Fijian Society, 1910*, 1925, p. 54.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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794 668 he worked for a European and evidently was deeply disturbed by contact with western culture. While there, two of his ancestral gods appeared to him. Ndukumoi recognized them and was afraid, but they told him to heed their words and he would receive "mana" from them. The young man carried out their instructions and a new cult was revealed to him.

There is some difference of opinion concerning his teachings. Most accounts agree, however, that he upheld the Bible but maintained that Jehovah and Jesus Christ had been substituted for the two ancestral gods who appeared to him. He exhorted his followers to commit no sin and to pray to these two gods. They would be rewarded by eternal youth and immortality in the "red paradise" (*mburotu kula*). The sinful would be condemned to everlasting fire. He took the name of Navosavakandua (pronounced Na-vó-sa-vá-ka-en-dú-a, meaning "he who speaks but once"), the term applied to the colonial chief justice because there is no appeal against his decision. He re-named the seven days of the week, which had been introduced by the missionaries, and set aside the seventh as the holy sabbath when meetings were held in temples secretly dedicated to the "Immortality" cult. He selected priests and women to attend them and inaugurated ceremonies which were a combination of kava drinking, dances, prayers, the presentation of property, and military drill. He organized his followers under drill sergeants, *rokos*, and *mbulis*, in imitation of the native colonial officials.

Many miracles were ascribed to Navosavakandua. His doctrine spread quickly in northeastern Viti Levu, which at that time was far from the nearest government station. His prophecies created so much excitement and unrest that in 1878 he was banished to Lau. He returned to his province after four years and began his activities with even greater energy, with the result that the military aspect of the "Immortality" movement developed and spread over a wide area. The cult became distinctly hostile to the government and aimed at

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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overturning the white man's rule. It caused the administration considerable trouble until finally the leader was banished for ten years to Rotuma island, north of the Fiji group, where he died. His spirit, however, continued to haunt the hill country of Viti Levu, and the cult persisted for many years.

The "Immortality" cult, with its unique combination of the old and the new, provided a spiritual outlet to a people reacting against the too rapid influx of foreign innovations. It was a desperate attempt to recapture the past, mainly the spiritual values of the disappearing native culture. The history of the movement illustrates the process by which a messiah so often arises among a harassed people in a period of stress.

Other prophets have arisen in Fiji with the same message of recreating the glories of the past and freeing the people from foreign domination. A recent outstanding one is Apolosi, a young man from the province of Lautoka in northwest Viti Levu. Apolosi became the leader of a political movement called the Fijian Youth, which spread rapidly through the group in the 1920's and has only been suppressed by the banishment of the leader to Rotuma.

Many examples have been recorded of messianic and reactionary movements among peripheral peoples after first contact with western civilization. These successful messiahs, however, represent but a fraction of the number of potential messiahs whom circumstances of temperament or environment repress. Tarai of Kambara is an interesting example of a repressed messiah.

Tarai's father, although born on Kambara, traveled a great deal in his youth. He was among the one hundred Fijians chosen to represent the colony at the Golden Jubilee of Queen Victoria in England. He married a woman of a hereditary priest clan in Rewa, a high ranking village on Viti Levu, and for some time lived in the village. After two years there were no offspring to this union and his wife consulted one of her female relatives, a medicine woman. She was given